THE
CONDUCT
Of His GRACE
The D--ke of *A--le.*

(Price One Shilling.)

THE CONDUCT

Of His GRACE

The D-ke of *Argyle*,

For the Four last Years,

REVIEW'D.

Together with

His GRACE's

SPEECH,

April 15th, 1740.

Upon the

State of the Nation.

LONDON:
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THE CONDUCT Of His GRACE The Duke of *Argyle*,

For the Four laſt Years,

REVIEW'D.

THE illuſtrious Perſon, whoſe Conduct we propoſe now to conſider, has acted ſo diſtinguiſhed a Part in Defence of the Trade, the Honour and Reputation of this Country, that we hope the following Review will neither be unuſeful nor unacceptable to the Publick. The lower Rank of his Majeſty's Subjects, who have no Acceſs to know

know the ſecret Springs of
for whoſe ſake this Review
will learn from this, that
avail againſt miniſterial
that the greateſt Services
one's Prince and Country may be cancell'd by an unſeaſonable Oppoſition to the M-------r.

As there is no Occaſion to carry this Review farther back than the laſt Four Years, we are obliged to begin it with his Grace's Conduct in an Affair, wherein he was under the ſtrongeſt Ties, not only from his Duty to his native Country, and his Attachment to the Principles of Juſtice, but even from Self-intereſt, to oppoſe the Deſigns of the M------y.

Every body may remember the horrid Action committed at *Edinburgh*, when *Porteous* was murder'd. The Government being juſtly incenſed, a Bill was brought into Parliament, by which it was intended that the City of *Edinburgh* ſhould be diſenfranchiſed of ſeveral of its Privileges, and an Incapacity impos'd upon the Lord Provoſt, who happen'd to be at the Head of Affairs in that City. My Lord Duke of *A---le*, who had ſat in the Parliament of *Scotland* at the Time when the Articles of the *Union* were debated and a-

greed

who remember'd, that the *Scotland* were ſo jealous of affect the Privileges of Royal Burghs, that whatever related to them was put upon the ſame Footing with the Affairs of Religion, and by the Articles of the *Union* rendered irreverſible, even by the Parliament itſelf; I ſay, his G—e, who remembered all this, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the inflicting any Cenſure upon the City of *Edinburgh* upon Account of *Porteous*. Beſides, it did not appear to his G---e, that the Facts alledged againſt the Lord Provoſt and the Town had been in any Degree prov'd; nay, on the contrary, there was the ſtrongeſt Evidence, that both the Lord Provoſt and the City Council had done their utmoſt to ſuppreſs the Rioters; nay, they even ventured their Lives for that Purpoſe. Upon theſe Conſiderations his G——ce took occaſion to remonſtrate to the Houſe the Injuſtice and the Cruelty of inflicting upon the Lord Provoſt and the Town the Penalties contained in the Bill, and did it with ſo great Force of Reaſoning, that ſeveral Lords, who were before inclined to have a very bad Opinion of the Accuſed, found Reaſon to alter

ter their Sentiments, and to wish that Affair had not been carried ſo far.

It may be proper to remark here, that the Oppoſition which his G---e made in that important Affair, could not poſſibly flow from his Attachment to any Party, but purely from his Conviction of the Injuſtice and Severity of the Meaſure itſelf. The Enquiry itſelf was mov'd for, and the Bill brought in by L——ds, with whom his G---ce has ever ſince been of the ſame Way of Thinking; and it was oppos'd by others, who never were remarkable for their Attachment to any Sentiments which his G---e eſpouſed upon publick Affairs.

But another Conſideration, beſides thoſe which aroſe from the Nature of the Crime with which the Delinquents were charg'd, had great Weight in determining his G---e to oppoſe the Severity of this Meaſure; and that was, the Nature of Bills of Pains and Penalties, which in his G---e's Opinion were ſeldom juſtifiable, and never eligible. This was giving a great Proof of Diſintereſtedneſs, ſince, as his G---e at that Time owned, he had not been always of that Way of Thinking. Many would have in ſuch a Caſe rather choſen not to have appeared in the

the Question at all, since they could not have acted consistently with their former Way of thinking and acting; but his G---e was above these mean Considerations, and thought that nothing could reflect so much Honour upon the greatest Character, as acting consistently with Truth and Conscience, be the Consequences what they will.

Such was the first Act of Opposition to the Court from this noble D--ke, within the Period I have propos'd to consider; but if we reflect on all the Circumstances of that Affair, his worst Enemies can never charge his G---e in that Opposition with any Intention of distressing the Affairs of his Royal Master, or even of his Minister, since his G---e was joined in his Opposition by those who have ever been remarkable for not giving in any other Affair one single Vote against the Court. But even so far back as that Time the World began to talk, as if his G---ce's Conduct had been disagreeable to the M——r; and that he had laid hold of some Expressions that dropt from his G--ce in the Heat of the Debate, to do him bad Services with his Royal M--r. His G---ce's expressing at that time, a Dislike *to all kinds of Jobbs*, might seem no

favourable Symptom to the
his Conduct, when a Job
hand, and might even
ſmall Uneaſineſs in reflecting,
was a Man in the Nation, who
ſiderable Employments under the Govern-
ment, and who would be honeſt enough
to oppoſe him, ſhould he purſue dark or
diſhonourable Meaſures. We ſhall not
pretend to ſay, whether the Mine that has
ſince ſprung, was then begun; but ſhall
proceed in our Review.

The next great Affair, in which his G---ce thought it neceſſary to eſpouſe the Intereſt of his Country, and the true Glory of his Sovereign, was in the Affair of the Convention. As I intend to confine this Review to Facts that are publickly known, I ſhall not take upon me to warrant the Truth of what has been given out, as if the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, at the Time when Mr. *Ogletborp* was ſent over to *Georgia*, ſhould have preſented a Memorial to our C——t, demanding that his Maſter ſhould be put into Poſſeſſion of that Colony, and that the Subjects of *Great Britain* ſhould withdraw from it within a Time therein limited; and beſides all this, that Mr. *Ogletborp* and his *Canaille*, as the *Don* politely worded it, ſhould not be ſent over;

[illegible] this Memorial came, [illegible] a certain Place, his [illegible] as his Opinion, *That* [illegible] *to depart the King-*[illegible] I say, I shall not warrant the Truth of these Facts, because they are not so publickly known; but granting they were true, his G---ce did nothing but what was consistent entirely with his Duty and Honour. But, to proceed,

Every body knows, that in the Year 1738, after the Merchants, who had petitioned the Parliament for Redress of their Grievances, which they suffer'd from the Insolence and Injustice of *Spain*, had, to the Conviction of all the World, made out their Losses, both Houses of Parliament thought it necessary to come to certain Resolutions upon that Head. Accordingly a noble Lord, who never was suspected of Dissatisfaction with the present Measures, presented three Resolutions, which he thought were proper to be laid before his Majesty, and which were understood by all the House, to serve as a Direction to the M----r, in all his future Negotiations with the Court of *Spain*. That the Reader may have a clearer Idea of the Motives that might induce his G--ce to oppose the Measures that were taken in

conſequence of theſe Reſolutions, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to [illegible] down in this place, and likewiſe to [illegible] ſmall Recapitulation of what [illegible]

1. Reſolved, That the Subjects of the Crown of *Great Britain* have a clear and undoubted Right to navigate in the *American* Seas, to and from any Part of his Majeſty's Dominions; and for carrying on ſuch Trade and Commerce, as they are juſtly intitled to in *America*; and alſo, to carry all ſorts of Goods and Merchandizes, or Effects, from one Part of his Majeſty's Dominions to any other Part thereof; and that no Goods, being ſo carried, are, by any Treaty ſubſiſting between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*, to be deem'd or taken as contraband, or prohibited Goods; and that the ſearching of ſuch Ships on the open Seas, under pretence of their carrying contraband or prohibited Goods, is a Violation and Infraction of the Treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns.

2. Reſolved, That it appears to this Houſe, that as well before as ſince the Execution of the Treaty of *Seville* on the Part of *Great Britain*, divers Ships and Veſſels, with their Cargoes, belonging to

Britiſh

ave been violently ſeiz'd
the *Spaniards*, upon
unjuſt and ground-
many of the Sailors on
board ſuch Ships have been injuriouſly
and barbarouſly impriſoned and ill treated;
and that thereby the Liberty of Naviga-
tion and Commerce belonging to his Ma-
jeſty's Subjects by the Law of Nations,
and by virtue of the Treaties ſubſiſting be-
tween the Crowns of *Great Britain* and
Spain, hath been unwarrantably infring'd
and interrupted, to the great Loſs and Da-
mage of our Merchants, and in direct
Violation of the ſaid Treaties.

3. Reſolved, That it appears to this
Houſe, that frequent Applications have
been made, on the Part of his Majeſty,
to the Court of *Spain*, in a manner the
moſt agreeable to the Treaties, and to the
Peace and Friendſhip ſubſiſting between
the two Crowns, for redreſſing the noto-
rious Abuſes and Grievances before men-
tioned, and preventing the like for the
future, and for obtaining adequate Satiſ-
faction to his injur'd Subjects; which in
the Event have prov'd entirely fruitleſs,
and of no Effect.

We think it our Duty [illegible] tant Occaſion, humbly [illegible] your Majeſty, that we are [illegible] affected with the many and grievous Injuries and Loſſes ſuſtained by your Majeſty's Trading Subjects, by Means of theſe unwarrantable Depredations and Seizures; and to give your Majeſty the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſincere Aſſurances, that in caſe your friendly and powerful Inſtances for procuring Reſtitution and Reparation to your injured Subjects, and for the future Security of their Trade and Navigation, ſhall fail of having their due Effect and Influence on the Court of *Spain*, and ſhall not be able to obtain that real Satisfaction and Security, which your Majeſty may in Juſtice expect; we will zealouſly and chearfully concur in all ſuch Meaſures, as ſhall become neceſſary for the Support of your Majeſty's Honour, the Preſervation of our Navigation and Commerce, and the common Good of theſe Kingdoms.

Such were the Directions which the Wiſdom of the Nation thought neceſſary to be obſerv'd in any future Peace with the *Spaniards*. But we muſt not neglect to inform the Reader, that the latter Part of

...lution, [*viz. And that ... of such Ships on the open ... under Pretence of their carrying contraband or prohibited Goods, is a Violation and Infraction of the Treaties subsisting betwixt the Crowns*;] was propos'd by my Lord *C——t* by way of Amendment to the Reſolutions, as they were preſented by my Lord *C——y*. The firſt of theſe Noble Lords, in a Speech which he made on that Occaſion, open'd a new Scene of Reaſoning upon that Subject, with which every Body was both pleas'd and ſurpriz'd. Pleas'd, to find that Juſtice and Equity were ſo much on the Side of *Great Britain*; and ſurpris'd, that they themſelves had never found out the plain invincible Truths which his Lordſhip then laid down. His Lordſhip found, that there cou'd be no ſuch thing as Contraband Goods betwixt *Spain* and *Great Britain* in the *Weſt-Indies*; and that it was a Contradiction in Terms, to talk of prohibiting Commodities, and of confiſcating them in Conſequence of ſuch Prohibition, upon Seas and Coaſts where all Trade was prohibited; and ſtill more abſurd, to pretend to ſearch Ships on Seas, where no Object of Search cou'd exiſt. He explain'd the Difference betwixt the

Treaty

Treaty of 1667, and that of 1670, and ſhew'd that in the one, which regarded the *European* Dominions of the two Crowns, mention was made of a Viſit, and the Manner in which it was to be made was expreſly regulated; but that in the other, which regarded *America* only, no Mention was made of prohibited Goods, none of a Viſit, and none of a Search, for the plain Reaſon above given; becauſe by that Treaty a mutual Prohibition of Trade being ſtipulated, therefore not only particular Commodities, but the very Trade itſelf was prohibited, and conſequently no Object of Search cou'd exiſt. This ſolid Reaſoning had ſo great Weight with the Houſe, that the Amendment propos'd was with a very little Alteration agreed to unanimouſly; tho' there were ſeveral Lords who foreſaw that the Reſolutions, as they then ſtood, wou'd be an inſuperable Bar to any Treaty, unleſs the Crown of *Spain* ſhou'd expreſly diſclaim all manner of Right to ſearch our Ships upon the *American* Seas.

The Reſolutions to which the Houſe of Commons came on that Occaſion, were neither ſo ſtrict, nor are they ſo material for my preſent Purpoſe to relate; but this Step in both Houſes had that good Effect, that

that the People thought, it was not now in the Power of the Miniſtry to conclude any Peace with *Spain*, to the Diſadvantage or Diſhonour of the Nation. At the ſame Time it requir'd no great Share of Penetration, to diſcern from the haughty Air which the *Spaniſh* Court aſſum'd, and from the Reaſoning of her Miniſtry, that the Right of ſearching *Britiſh* Ships was what the Crown of *Spain* never wou'd give up, unleſs forc'd to do it by Blows. Nay, ſo poſitive was *Geraldino* on that head, that he was often heard to wonder, that the Miniſtry here ſhou'd ſo far impoſe, both upon the King and the People, as to endeavour to make them believe, that it was poſſible to conclude a Peace with *Spain*, in which ſuch a Renunciation ſhou'd be inſiſted on: For, *to uſe his own Words*, the King my Maſter, ſaid he, will as ſoon part with his Eyes, as with his Right of Search upon the *American* Seas. All the Time of the following Receſs of Parliament was ſpent in the Various Traverſes, which the Negotiations for Peace met with; and we ſhall not pretend to determine, whether there is any Foundation for what is commonly believ'd, that his G---e very freely oppos'd the Convention when it was con-

ſider'd at a certain Board. However, ſo fond of it were its Authors, that the Sitting of the Parliament was delay'd for a Fortnight, meerly to gain Time to ratify that Treaty, and to make it more difficult for thoſe, who they knew wou'd oppoſe it, to get it thrown out.

At laſt the Parliament was open'd with a Gracious Speech from the Throne, in which they were told, " The Meaſures " his Majeſty had perſued, had ſo good " an Effect, that a Convention was con- " cluded, whereby, upon Conſideration " of the Demands had on both Sides, " the King of *Spain* had oblig'd him- " ſelf to make Reparation to the Sub- " jects of *Great Britain*, for their Loſſes, " by a ſtipulated Payment, and that Ple- " nipotentiaries were therein named and " appointed for redreſſing, within a li- " mited Time, all thoſe Grievances and " Abuſes, which had interrupted our " Commerce and Navigation in the " *American* Seas. Upon this ſome L--ds moved, that in the Addreſs preſented to his Majeſty; " His Majeſty ſhou'd be " thank'd for Acquainting the Parlia- " ment that a Convention was concluded, " in the Terms of the Speech from the " Throne,

" Throne ; and acknowledging his Ma-
" jeſty's Goodneſs for making, in Conjun-
" ction with the Parliament, Reparation
" for paſt Injuries and Loſſes, and Securi-
" ty againſt future, his great View in this
" National and important Affair.

Upon the Motion for this Addreſs being ſeconded, a Noble L--d roſe up, and deſir'd, that the Journal containing the Reſolution we have ſeen above ſhould be read ; which being done, he objected to any particular Acknowledgments upon the Subject of the Convention, till it appear'd to the Houſe, that the Meaſures which had been taken were in Terms of the Reſolutions. This was ſupported with great Eloquence and Zeal ; and his G---ce here gave a remarkable Proof, how well he could diſtinguiſh betwixt the Duty he ow'd to the Perſon of his Sovereign, and the Regard he had for the Honour of his Country : For tho' he well knew how ſhameful a Treaty the Convention was, yet he was ſo tender of whatever related to his Majeſty's Perſon, that he declar'd, that he had as bad an Opinion of the Thing call'd a *Convention*, as any L--d in the Houſe had ; yet that he thought he ow'd ſo much to his Maſter, as to oppoſe

nothing that had an Appearance of Zeal or Acknowledgment for his Majeſty's Perſon. Beſides, he did not conceive, that any thing they ſhould inſert in the Addreſs, could preclude any Lord from ſpeaking his Mind freely upon the Convention, when the proper Time came for debating it. This Opinion of his G---ce, had ſo much Weight with the Houſe, that the Addreſs was agreed to without any Diviſion.

After ſo remarkable an Inſtance of his G--ce's Regard for his Sovereign, with what Face can it be pretended, that his G---ce ſhould draw down the Chaſtiſement of the C---t, by any Piece of Diſreſpect to the Perſon of his M---y? ſince it is certain, that in all the Speeches, and in all Reaſonings that ever happen'd on publick Affairs, his G--ce ſtill took care to expreſs the moſt inviolable Fidelity for the Royal Perſon, and always confin'd his Cenſure to the Miniſtry and their Meaſures.

This is a Conduct that is warranted by the very Nature of the Conſtitution, which ſuppoſes, that a King can do no Wrong, but that his Miniſtry may. This Maxim, as it is full of Duty to the Perſon of Majeſty,

jeſty, ſo it is the greateſt Security to the Liberty of the Subject, as it opens a Door for Enquiry into all publick Miſmanagements that have been committed under the Authority or Shadow of the Sovereign. Unhappy therefore muſt this Country be, if a Time ſhould ever come, when a Subject of the firſt Rank for Abilities, Experience, Fortune and Dignity, ſhall be excluded from the Service of his Sovereign, only becauſe he underſtands this Diſtinction; when the Puniſhment which he meets with in one Capacity, ſhall extend to another; or, in other Words, when a Servant of his Majeſty ſhall, as a Soldier, be puniſh'd for what he does as P---r, or a Member of Par——t.

The next remarkable Occaſion on which his G——e had an Opportunity to manifeſt his Diſlike of the M——r's Proceedings, was in the D——te upon the Queſtion, whether the Directors of the South Sea Company ſhould be examin'd in regard to the famous Declaration which was given by the *Spaniſh* Miniſter to Mr. *Keen*, containing a Defeazance of the *Aſſiento* Contract, in caſe 68000 Pounds was not paid to his Catholick Majeſty within a limited Term; and likewiſe a diſannulling of the whole Convention, if the ſame Terms were

were not complied with. His G——ce thought that this Motion was highly reaſonable; becauſe it was impoſſible for the Houſe to judge of the Reaſonableneſs of the *Spaniſh* Demand, unleſs they knew upon what Pretence that 68000 Pounds were demanded in ſo inſolent, ſo arbitrary a Manner by the *Spaniſh* Court. This appear'd ſo unanſwerable, that his G--ce was join'd in the Diviſion by ſeveral, who gave no other Vote againſt the C——t during all the Debates upon the Convention. One Circumſtance indeed might concur to irritate the Patrons of the Convention, and that was, when they found there was nothing to be done in any other way, they call'd for the Vote; his G—e then unluckily ſaid, That they might carry that Queſtion by N——s, but it would never be in *their Power to cram the Convention down the Throats of the People.* In this he ſhew'd himſelf to be as true a Prophet, as in the other Steps of his Conduct he prov'd himſelf a firm Patriot.

Now to make ſome Reflections upon this Piece of Oppoſition: Could any thing appear more reaſonable, before the Senſe of the H——e had determin'd the Queſtion, than for a *Britiſh* Houſe of P——t to vindicate the Honour of their Sovereign,

[illegible] Faith of ſolemn Treaties, [illegible]nto the Grounds of a Mea[illegible] tho' accepted of with reciprocal Accord by our Miniſter at *Madrid*, ſeem'd to reflect ſo much Diſhonour upon both? There, by one Daſh of a *Spaniſh* M——r's Pen, not only the *Aſſiento* Contract was ſet aſide after it had been eſtabliſhed by the Faith of Nations, but the Performance of the little that we ſeem'd to have gain'd by the Convention was render'd precarious and uncertain, and our Merchants again ſubjected to the moſt cruel and infamous Uſage from the Court of *Spain*. Not only ſo, but they did not know that all the Pains and Expences, which the Nation had been at, were to no Manner of Purpoſe; becauſe if that Demand of the King of *Spain*'s was ill founded, and if the South Sea Company refus'd to comply with it, the Convention was *ipſo facto* null and void; which would have been the moſt infamous ſhameful Proſtitution of the national Character ever yet happen'd: And the worſt of all was, that the King of *Spain* had honeſtly told us before hand what we were to expect, as appeared from Mr. *Keen*'s Letters; ſo that we could not appeal to the reſt of *Europe* for Juſtice, ſince

ſince the Whole of the Tranſaction was previouſly concerted betwixt the *Spaniſh* and *Britiſh* Miniſters.

Thus far therefore it muſt appear that his G—ce, in all his Oppoſition to the Court, had at leaſt the Appearance of Reaſon on his Side, which was conducted with the moſt profound Marks of Reſpect for the Royal Perſon; and therefore there could not be the leaſt Reaſon from any Part of his Conduct, ſo far as yet appears, for impoſing any Cenſure upon him.

The next great Part that was acted upon the political Theatre, was the Approbation of the Convention itſelf. There all the Arguments that we have ſeen before were urg'd againſt the Addreſs, took Place, and had their full Force. I ſhall take no Notice of any but his G——ce's Conduct, which ſtill preſerved the moſt inviolable Attachment to his Majeſty and the Intereſts of the Nation. His G—ce begun his Speech with a Profeſſion of Diſintereſtedneſs, in which we may venture to affirm he was believed by all the Aſſembly who were preſent: He then expoſed the pernicious Conſequences of the Con-

great Solidity of Reaſon-
Eloquence; he ſhew'd
of Meanneſs we were
ſuffer'd a neighbouring
to us in almoſt every
Conduct, and to proceed to
ch of Inſolence, as to oblige us
break a brave Sea Officer only for doing
his Duty againſt a Ship of that Nation;
and which, if he had not done, he muſt
have ſuffered by the Rules of War here.
He likewiſe demonſtrated from Hiſtory,
that the Convention was a Treaty that
muſt have been rejected with Diſdain
in former and more uncorrupted Ages.
Nor muſt it be conceal'd, that he took
Notice how Queen *Elizabeth*, one of
the moſt glorious Princeſſes that ever
filled the Throne of *England*, never ru-
led by a ſole Miniſter. Miniſters indeed
ſhe had, but theſe were ſo far from being
the ſole and arbitrary Diſpoſers of all
Affairs relating to the Kingdom, that
they ſeem to have had no other Pre-emi-
nence, but in being ſubjected to a greater
Share of Toil in the Affairs of Govern-
ment. At the ſame time he declared,
that he had diſapproved of the Conduct of
the Miniſtry, with Regard to the Manage-
ment of Foreign Affairs, for eighteen Years

paſt. He took [illegible] Maxims of [illegible] which he had carried [illegible] putation of the *Engliſh* Height, and that the [illegible] Maxims was, *Never to ſuffer upon the Flag of* England, *[illegible] on Earth, to paſs unrevenged.* He made a very accurate and a very juſt Diſtinction betwixt a Viſit and a Search; he told the Houſe, that the Convention was a Meaſure of the Miniſtry, not of his Majeſty; and that if they agreed to the Addreſs propoſed, all the World would look upon it as a mean returning of Thanks to the Miniſter for a Treaty that had given up all the Wealth and Commerce of the Nation to the Mercy of its natural and inveterate Enemies. He explain'd, and in a very beautiful Manner laid down the Diſtinction we have already taken Notice of, *The King of* Britain *could do no wrong*; and he told the Houſe, *That he would die before he would conſent to approve of a Treaty ſo diſhonourable in every Step.*

It is doing an Injuſtice to relate in this patch'd Manner, what he then delivered with ſo much Eloquence and in ſo beautiful a Manner; the Reader may judge of

[illegible] the
[illegible] acquaint him,
[illegible]thing was heard but
[illegible], which ſeem'd to
[illegible] the Queſtion would be dropt:
[illegible] reſum'd the Subject,
and the Addreſs was carried by a conſiderable Majority.

As we are now upon his G---e's Conduct, we ought not to omit one Circumſtance, which was, that a certain great Man was ſo much alarmed with the Speech which he made upon the Convention, that he ſaid in his Speech upon the Convention in the H---ſe of C---ns, "That while he had any thing to ſay "in the Government, military Officers "ſhould have as little Power as poſſible "in determining the Point of Peace and "War in the Councils of his M —— ty; "for, *ſaid he*, they commonly court Glo-"ry by voting for War, no matter tho' it "is attended with Ruin to their Coun-"try." This was well underſtood by a certain honourable Gentleman, who ſat near him, as levelled at his G--ce; and he accordingly next Day took Notice of it, as a Circumſtance greatly to his G —— ce's Advantage.

As this was a ve[illegible]
Oppoſition, it may be e[illegible]
make ſome Reflexions o[illegible]
Conduct in this Affair.
needful; for it is well kno[illegible]
the Duty of every *Britiſh* N[illegible]
tell his *Mind* freely upon all [illegible]
Conſequence to the Publick, eſpecially in an Affair upon which the Honour, Intereſt, and Commerce of the Nation depended; ſo that it never can be ſuppos'd, that he now feels any bad Conſequence from that Day's Conduct.

Let us now attend the D---ke to his next publick Step of Oppoſition to the M---ry. Towards the Cloſe of the ſame Seſſion, a Meſſage came from the Throne to both Houſes, demanding a Vote of Credit and Confidence during the Receſs of Parliament; and to make this Demand go the better down, a Copy of the Subſidiary Treaty with the King of *Denmark* was ſent along with it. The laſt Meaſure, which ſtood firſt in the Meſſage, met with no Oppoſition, but was rather approv'd of by all Parties; but very ſtrong Debates happen'd upon the latter. As the Sum inſiſted on was not ſpecify'd in the Meſſage, the Demand of an unlimited

[illegible] by [illegible] by his [illegible] they ſhould look [illegible] as a Meſſage from the [illegible] and treat it as ſuch: Accordingly, they enter'd very freely into the Nature of Votes of Credit, and ſhew'd that the granting them, eſpecially to an unlimited Extent, was no other than voting a dictatorial Power in the M-----r, and enabling him to rule without the Aſſiſtance of Parliaments. This, he thought, was a Power too great to inveſt even in the Crown itſelf; ſince it is plain, that the Liberties of ſeveral States in *Europe* are at this Day forfeited, by their giving up their Power of granting Money. Thoſe of *Spain* were ruin'd by parting with it but for one Year; and the Power of granting Money, according to the Exigencies of State, is at preſent the moſt valuable Privilege of a *Britiſh* Parliament. All this was urg'd by his G---ce and other noble L--ds who ſpoke in the Debate; but the Houſe being aſſur'd that a Bill was in great Forwardneſs in the H--ſe of C----s, by which the Sum granted to his Majeſty was limited to five hundred thouſand Pounds, the Queſtion was carried in the Affirmative.

Thus

Thus far his [illegible]
blameable, with [illegible]
towards his Majeſty
Meaſures, becauſe he tho[illegible]
arbitrary Tendency; and [illegible]
thought the Intereſts of the Crown and
People might very well admit of being di-
tinctly conſider'd from thoſe of the M---r.

Another Queſtion, that was brought the ſame Seſſion into the Houſe, gave his G--ce an Opportunity again to oppoſe the Growth and Influence of m——l Power. The Crown of *Spain* was by the Convention obliged to pay the famous 95,000 *l.* to the Subjects of *Great Britain*, in four Months time after the Ratification of the Convention. The four Months being elapſed, and a Bill going thro' both Houſes, by which the 60000 *l.* that was to be paid to the King of *Spain* in conſideration of his Damages in the Year 1718, was appropriated towards the Diſcharge of Part of the Money ſtipulated by *Spain* to be paid to the Merchants, ſome Lords thought they had a Right to addreſs the Throne, to know if the 95000 Pounds were paid. There was nothing in a Motion of this Kind, but what was fair and dutiful; and it

was

--t;
he eave
quaint the Houſe,
ot paid. His G--ce,
this Anſwer very
took Occaſion to tell
freely with regard to the
Power which Miniſters had lately aſſum'd
in *Britain.* The Word *Miniſter*, ſaid
he, in the common *Engliſh* Acceptation of
it, ſignifies a *Servant*; but, ſaid his G--ce,
it ſeems now to be underſtood in the
French Senſe, which is, *Maitre de Palais.*
It having been much inſiſted upon, that
the Motion was irregular; becauſe the
Crown could not give an Anſwer, but by
the Miniſters who were to prepare it, and
which the Houſe had already receiv'd;
his G---ce upon this obſerv'd, that he
thought the Houſe had already dealt with
the C---n too much thro' the Medium of
the M——y, and that it was now high
time for them to addreſs his Majeſty, and
have an Anſwer from himſelf, that they
might try what Effect that would have in
the Management of Affairs. He likewiſe
obſerv'd, that formerly the Houſe did not
uſe to ſtand ſo much upon Ceremonies
with Miniſters, as it did now, and gave
ſome Inſtances of the Freedom with which
the

the Parliament u[illegible]
however carried, [illegible]
ceiv'd a Parliamentary

The next Step taken by [illegible]
was, to move, that the State of [illegible]
ſhould be taken into Conſideration of the
Houſe. This being carried, a Noble
L--d mov'd, that the Nonpayment of the
95,000 Pounds, *&c.* was a manifeſt In-
fringement, on the Part of *Spain*, of the
Convention, a high Indignity to his Maje-
ſty, and an Injuſtice to the Nation. The
Truth of this was not diſputed nor denied:
But the Debate ran, how far, in the then
Situation of Affairs, it would have been
prudent to agree to a Motion that muſt
inevitably have brought on an Addreſs for
an immediate War. His G---ce declar'd
ſtrongly for agreeing to the Reſolution;
and ſaid, he hoped that a *Britiſh* Houſe of
P--rs never ſhould be afraid to aſſert a
plain unconteſtable Fact: That he lov'd
open Dealing of all things; and that he
obſerv'd, that they who deal too much in
Myſteries, ſoon run into Methodiſm. But
upon a noble L——d's aſſuring the Houſe,
that nothing was now left but to enter up-
on Action, the more prudential Conſide-
rations carried it, and the Reſolution was
thrown out. All

his G---ce certainly
of his Diſſatisfaction at
carried on; but none
to his Majeſty's Perſon
; and ſuch an Oppoſition
was very compatible with the Enjoyment of all his Places under the C——n. So that the Reader may expect to find him concern'd in ſome undutiful Steps towards the Royal Perſon in the laſt Seſſion; but upon the ſtricteſt Review of what had paſs'd, we ſhall find the ſame Uniformity of Conduct prevailing in his G---ce, and him acting with the ſtricteſt Regard to his Prince, his Country, and his own Character.

Upon the opening of the laſt Seſſion, an Addreſs was mov'd for in Anſwer to the S——h from the T---ne, in which mention was made of Heats and Animoſities, as if they had ſtill ſubſiſted among them. His G---ce, among other L--ds, ſtrongly oppos'd theſe Expreſſions ſtanding part of the Addreſs. He thought, that becauſe the M ——r was perhaps in a teſty Humour when the S——ch was drawn up, they ought not to impoſe ſo far upon his Majeſty, as to give him room to believe that any Heats and Animoſities ſubſiſt at

preſent. He was [illegible]
Opinion, that theſe Wo[illegible]
mitted in the Addreſs.
inſinuated, as if the H[illegible]
ther, and even addreſs his Ma[illegible]
by whoſe Means theſe Words were inſert-
ed in the S——h from the T——ne. But
it was carried, that the Words in Debate
ſhould ſtand Part of the Addreſs.

His G——e had no particular Share in the other Tranſactions of the laſt Seſſion of P——t, which are too recent to deſerve particular Mention here, to diſtinguiſh him from other L——ds who were likewiſe in the Oppoſition. But, in the laſt Debate upon the State of the Nation, he exerted himſelf with ſo uncommon a Zeal for the Honour of his Country, that we thought it wou'd not be unacceptable to the Publick, if we gave the Whole of his S——ch. This we do the rather, becauſe it immediately preceded an Event which has occaſion'd a great deal of Talk in the Nation, as if his G—ce had done ſomewhat in his Civil Capacity that merited his Diſmiſſion from his Ma——ſty's Service; but this Calumny is ſufficiently refuted by what we have already laid before the Reader. As we have no Grounds for believing

ing

——ce's Conduct has not [illegible] juſtifiable with regard to his Sovereign, his Country, and his own Character. Therefore, if what is commonly given out is true, that his G——ce has receiv'd ſuch a Diſmiſſion, we are dutifully to conclude, that it is for Reaſons beſt known to the So——n himſelf, and which he is oblig'd to give an Account of to no Power upon Earth. It is indeed a melancholy Conſideration, to reflect, that the M——r has declar'd, *He never would give his Conſent towards keeping any military Officer in Poſts of Power, who ſhould oppoſe the Meaſures of the Ad----n.* And continued, *He muſt be a pitiful Fellow of a Miniſter indeed, who would not adviſe his Maſter to turn ſuch Men out.* I don't know, if this Paſſage can throw any Light upon the Step of diveſting the D--ke of *A——le* of all his Poſts: But, as we have already ſeen, that nothing undutiful can be charged upon his G——ce, as to his Publick Conduct, what nobler Character can any Subject claim, than that, HE WAS A MAN, WHO WAS DIVESTED OF ALL HIS POSTS IN THE ARMY, BECAUSE HE ASSERTED THE GLORY OF HIS SOVEREIGN, AND THE INTEREST OF HIS COUNTRY,

AGAINST THE PO[illegible]
Miniſter, WHO, BY A [illegible]
OF weak Meaſures, HAD [illegible]
Diſhonour UPON THE ONE, AND
BROUGHT Diſcredit UPON THE O-
THER.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

IT was propoſed to reſolve, That the unexpected taking and demoliſhing of *Porto-Bello* by Admiral *Vernon*, with no other Land-Forces than 240 Men lent him by the Governour of *Jamaica*, might *not only have been render'd certain and infallible*, *but likewiſe* have been attended with further and greater Succeſs, if ſome of our Land-Forces, commanded by Experienced Officers, had been ſent to the *Weſt-Indies* about the ſame Time that Admiral ſail'd; and that the ſending of no Land-Forces hitherto into *America* is a manifeſt Piece of ill Conduct in the Proſecution of this juſt and neceſſary War.

And

And a Queſtion being [illegible] upon, after a Debate,

It was order'd to leave out the Words *not only have been render'd certain and infallible, but likewiſe.*

And the Queſtion being put upon the ſaid Propoſition, without theſe Words,

It was reſolved in the Negative.

SPEECH of the D—ke of *A—le*, upon the State of the Nation; *April* 15, 1740.

MY LORDS,

THE Preſent Queſtion is of ſo great Importance, that I cou'd wiſh that every Lord in this Houſe was to declare his Opinion with the ſame Sincerity, with the ſame Unreſervedneſs which I think is my indiſpenſable Duty to uſe, when I lay my poor Thoughts before your Lordſhips. I, my Lords, have no View in ſpeaking upon publick Affairs, but to do that Service to my Maſter and my Country, that I think every Lord in this Houſe ought to aim at, without regarding who takes his honeſt Endeavours amiſs. For my own Part, my Lords, I have, ever ſince I had the Honour to ſit in this Houſe, ſpoke my Mind with equal Freedom upon all Occaſions, and will

will continue to do it the [illegible] as I have neither Hopes nor Fears from this Adminiſtration, and as few from the next; and, my Lords, ſo void is my Breaſt of all partial Conſiderations, of all intereſted Views, that I don't care if all my Thoughts were read at *Charing-Croſs*, all my Ambition being to be thought a Man who ſpeaks and acts as he thinks; and, my Lords, it has been long my Opinion, that by ſuch a Conduct a Man may even force the Eſteem of his Enemies.

I, my Lords, have liv'd long enough in the World, to be able to compare the once flouriſhing State of this Country with its preſent melancholy Situation; I have ſeen, my Lords, a Time when *Great Britain* was glorious, triumphant, and terrible Abroad; her Government lov'd, reſpected, and envy'd at Home; when her Enmity was dreaded, and when her Alliance was courted. Is there a Subject in this Kingdom, my Lords, who can reflect that theſe were once the happy Circumſtances of this Country, and yet ſees the deplorable Alteration which a few Years have made, who will not feel a ſenſible Concern upon the Compariſon, however Self-Intereſt may alleviate his Grief?

I know

I know, my Lords, what has been ſaid in Favour of thoſe who have been the Inſtruments of bringing this melancholy Change about; I know it has been attributed to Fortune and to unforeſeen Cauſes. My Lords, I am very ſenſible that Fortune has very often a very great Hand in Public Events, and that a Nation may ſuffer a great deal from Events, that no Human Foreſight cou'd prevent or guard againſt; but I am far from thinking that this has been our Caſe. I am apt to believe, my Lords, that Fortune has been favourable to us, and preſented us with many Opportunities of raiſing the Honour and Intereſt of this Nation to as high a Pitch as ever, even while they have been ſuffering the moſt, but that theſe Opportunities have been all wantonly ſlighted and neglected. It is, my Lords, I am afraid, owing to a long Series of Miſconduct, to a long Train of weak Meaſures, unſucceſsful and unnatural Expedients, and not to Fortune, that this Nation has ſuffer'd ſo much in her Character and Intereſt in all the Courts of *Europe*. A very ſlight Review, my Lords, of our Conduct for ſome Years paſt may convince any Man of this Truth.

The Treaty of *Utrecht*, my Lords, [illegible] Meaſure that we have been of[illegible] Source of all thoſe Inconſiſtencies that appear in our Conduct for theſe laſt five and twenty Years. My Lords, I had the Honour of ſitting in this Houſe at that Time, and to have ſome Share in the Succeſſes that might have entitled us to a much better Treaty; I am very ſenſible it was not a good Treaty; and when it came to be conſider'd by the Houſe, no Lord ſpoke with greater Freedom on that Occaſion than I did. At the ſame Time, my Lords, my Oppoſition to that Treaty cou'd not proceed from any Diſſatisfaction, from any ill Will that I cou'd bear to thoſe who concluded it. I liv'd on good Terms, nay had perſonal Friendſhips with ſeveral who had a large Share in the Negotiations that brought it about; but I oppos'd it becauſe I thought it might have been better, and becauſe it gave up many Advantages that we might have then juſtly claim'd. But, my Lords, bad as it was, I don't think you have made a better ſince; and had even the Advantages which the Nation gain'd by the Treaty of *Utrecht* been improv'd by the next Miniſtry, had they made a right Uſe of their Power in

augmenting the ſhort-liv'd Miſunderſtandings that ſoon after broke out among our Allies, and thus depriving *France* of all the Means of retrieving her Power upon theſe Differences, you might, notwithſtanding all that then happen'd, have gone on from Glory to Glory, till you had fix'd the Ballance of Power unalterably in your own Hands.

But, my Lords, the ſucceeding Miniſtry took no Warning from the Miſconduct of their Predeceſſors; they took no Care to avoid treading in their Footſteps, tho' the Ruin to which they led was ſo clearly and ſo evidently pointed out; they fell into a train of fooliſh Negotiations, which diſoblig'd and detach'd your beſt Friends from your Intereſts, and which gave your natural Enemies an Opportunity of retrieving all they had loſt. They adopted a Maxim, my Lords, that any, even the moſt diſhonourable Peace, was preferable to a War, and by their inviolable adherence to this Maxim they have led you into all that Diſcredit, I had almoſt ſaid Scandal, that has come upon you from all Quarters. This Situation, my Lords, is the more dreadful, as it is attended with no Security. We have Negotiated Ourſelves out of all Reputation;

and tho' we have been doing nothing [illegible] forming Alliances and making Tre[illegible] for theſe twenty Years paſt, we have no[illegible] at this Day one Ally in the World, nor one Treaty that at this Time ſtands us in any ſtead. My Lords, I appeal to Facts: Where are your Allies? Have you receiv'd the leaſt Aſſiſtance from any Power in *Europe* ſince you enter'd into this War? or, is there any Appearance of their declaring in your Favour?

Having ſaid thus much, my Lords, upon the General State of the Nation at this time, I ſhall now trouble your Lordſhips with my Opinion as to this particular Queſtion. And here, my Lords, I cannot help declaring, that I think the Words of the Queſtion are extremely proper, and that it is very becoming your Lordſhips Wiſdom and Dignity, while you have the State of the Nation under your Conſideration, to enquire into the Particulars which this Reſolution comprehends. It conſiſts, my Lords, of two plain undeniable Facts, and one Conſequence; therefore I cannot ſee the leaſt Grounds for ſuppoſing with a noble Lord who has ſpoken in this Debate, that our agreeing to the Reſolution can ever reflect the leaſt Diſhonour upon the glorious Succeſs at *Porto-Bello*,

Behaviour that is a Cenſure upon the Congratulations which have been preſented already to his Majeſty on that account. My Lords, Truth will be Truth, whatever Gloſſes are made to diſguiſe it, and whatever Attempts are made to pervert it. The preſent Queſtion contains nothing but what every Lord muſt admit of. The Parts of which it conſiſts, are no way complicated, and muſt be underſtood by every body who takes the pains to conſider the Fact; which, my Lords, is, that if Admiral *Vernon* had been furniſh'd with a proper Body of Land-Forces, 'the taking of *Porto-Bello* might have 'been render'd not only more certain and 'infallible, but have been attended with 'greater Conſequences to the Nation.' My Lords, the noble Lord who made the Motion, gave your Lordſhips no ground for thinking that he meant a Scriptural Infallibility, ſuch an Infallibility as the Church of *Rome* veſts in her Popes, by the Words *certain* and *infallible* contain'd in this Motion; no, my Lords, as I underſtand the Words of the Reſolution, they mean no more, than that if Admiral *Vernon* had been furniſhed with Land-Forces, it was fifty thouſand to one if he had fail'd in his Attack upon *Porto-Bello*; whereas, there were many Chances to one againſt his

his Succeſs, as he was not furniſh'd with them. The Words *certain* and *infallible* therefore, are here put in oppoſition to the Precarioufneſs and Uncertainty he was under in making ſuch an Attack with ſo trifling a Number. For, my Lords, give me leave to ſay it, had the *Spainiards* behav'd with Reſolution, had they defended the Place as well as its Fortifications might have admitted of, Admiral *Vernon* could not have ſucceeded. And as it was, my Lords, nothing but his own Intrepidity and good Conduct cou'd have prevented his Ships coming very indifferenly off; but he acted with the Reſolution that became an *Engliſh* Admiral; he ſaid, *he cou'd take the Place, and he would take it*; and, my Lords, it was owing to him, and him only, that it was taken: for it appears that his Ship did all the Damage to the *Spaniards*. Now, my Lords, can any Lord doubt, that if Admiral *Vernon* had been properly ſupported by a ſufficient Body of Land-Forces, that he might not have attempted greater Matters than the taking and demoliſhing of *Porto-Bello*?

Having ſaid thus much, my Lords, in Defence of the Facts contain'd in the Queſtion, I come now to the Conſequence, which I ſuppoſe to have been that Part of the

the Motion that has given riſe to all this Debate. This Conſequence, my Lords, is, that the not ſending Land-Forces with Mr. *Vernon* was a Piece of Miſmanagement in the proſecuting *this juſt and neceſſary War*. My Lords, who doubts that it was? A noble Lord, who ſpoke firſt in the Debate, was pleas'd to ſay, that a great many things were neceſſary to be provided, in order to embark any Number of Land-Forces for ſo diſtant a Voyage. My Lords, it is now a long time ſince I ſerv'd, and it is poſſible that at my Years I may have forgot a good deal; but, my Lords, I hope, that what I have forgot is amply ſupply'd by the Experience and Capacity of my Cotemporaries and Fellow-Officers, and that they (ſeveral of them, my Lords, ſit in this Houſe) will ſet me right if I ſhould miſtake in any Point. My Lords, I have been a little us'd to Embarkations, and I do agree with the noble Lord, that the Embarkation of Troops is a very tedious and difficult Matter. But your Lordſhips will be pleas'd to obſerve one Diſtinction which the noble Lord did not make; and that is, my Lords, that there is a great Difference betwixt embarking Horſe and Foot. I have had Experience of both,

and

and it certainly is no eaſy Matter [illegible] bark any Number of Horſe, [illegible] my Lords, it is by no means ſo difficult a Matter to embark five or ſix, or eight thouſand Foot. And had ſuch a Number been embark'd at the time when the Troops were brought over from *Ireland*, my Lords, I make no doubt but by this time we might have been in the Poſſeſſion of a Place in the *Weſt-Indies*, which might have paid us for all the Expence of this War, had we kept it. The taking of *Porto-Bello*, my Lords, was a brave Action; it ſhew'd what an *Engliſh* Squadron, if rightly commanded, can do; but had Mr. *Vernon* been at that time furniſhed with a proper Body of Land-Forces, I don't know how far he might have carried his Conqueſts. Common Fame reports, that he is now before *Carthagena*, and I wiſh him all the Succeſs which his Bravery and Conduct deſerve; but does any Lord here doubt, that if at this time, ſuppoſing him to be before *Carthagena*, he had eight or ten Battalions along with him, that he might not promiſe himſelf a much more certain and eaſy Conqueſt? Had he eight or ten Battalions on board, my Lords, might he not attempt a Conqueſt of more Importance to this Nation than

that Province of *Carthagena* itſelf. My Lords, I ſpeak of theſe things according to the Light in which they appear to me: What private Reaſons there might be for not ſending Land-Forces along with that Admiral, I ſhall not pretend to account for; becauſe I am no otherwiſe acquainted with the publick Tranſactions, than all the good People of *England* either are or may be.

A noble Duke, who has ſpoke in this Debate, has ſaid, that the Seaſon of the Year is to be conſider'd, and that the ſending Troops into *America* at certain Seaſons is attended with the worſt Conſequences to the Perſons of the Men. My Lords, I am extremely ſenſible of that; and know, that if you ſend Men from this Kingdom at ſuch a Seaſon, as that they muſt land in *America* during the unwholeſome Months, you ſend them to their Death. For which Reaſon, my Lords, when I heard a great deal of Talk about an Expedition, and that we were to ſend over ten or twelve thouſand Men to *America*, in order to take the *Havannah*, or ſome important Place from the *Spaniards*, I thought it was a very right Meaſure: But when I heard, that the Troops deſign'd for that Expedition,

were to be ſent off from Britain about the End of *February*, or the Beginning of *March*, I ſaid that it was impoſſible, and that they muſt land in *America* at the very Time when the violent Heats and Unwholeſomneſs of the Climate muſt kill, at leaſt, one half of them. Therefore, my Lords, I was very glad to hear that this Expedition was delay'd to a more proper Opportunity. But, my Lords, when Admiral *Vernon* ſail'd from hence, it was the propereſt Seaſon in all the Year for ſending Men over to *America*; for they muſt have landed there at the beſt Time and in the mildeſt Seaſon of all the Year; ſo that no Objection of that Kind can be brought againſt our not ſending Land-forces with Mr. *Vernon*. As we did not think proper to ſend them at that Time, my Lords, we loſt that Year; and if we ſhall let the approaching Seaſon paſs without ſending out the Troops deſign'd for the Expedition that is ſo much talk'd of, we muſt loſe another Year, and ſo give the *Spaniards* more Time for fortifying and putting themſelves upon their Guard. So that, my Lords, I take it this is a plain Argument why we ought to agree to this Reſolution; for if we knew at the Time of Mr.

Ver-

[illegible]ence, that we muſt [illegible], in caſe we did not [illegible] Land-forces then; to be ſure, they who were in the Direction of Affairs were the more inexcuſable, as they brought another Year's Expences upon the Back of the Nation, which is ſo little able to bear it. For, my Lords, it is there that we can moſt effectually diſtreſs them; it is there that their moſt ſenſible Parts lie; and it is only by attacking them there, that we can ever hope to get out of this War with Honour and Advantage.

The ſame noble Duke was pleas'd to aſſert, that all had been done that was to be expected on the Coaſt of Old *Spain*, where we have had a ſtrong Squadron lying for near two Years paſt. All has been done, my Lords! What ſingle Thing has been done, (except the taking a Ship or two) that could make the *Spaniards* feel that you had a Squadron there? And, my Lords, give me leave to ſay, a Squadron fitted out at a vaſt Expence to this Nation; it conſiſted of more and better Ships than even Sir *John Jennings*, who will always be remembred on thoſe Seas to his immortal Honour, ever had the Command of. It was a ſtronger Fleet,

my Lords, than ever [illegible] *John Norris*, who certainly [illegible] as a Sea-Officer, is ſuperior to any Man in *Europe*. My Lords, I think the Service upon which Mr. *Haddock* was ſent deſerv'd to have been committed to one of your Admirals, the beſt and ableſt Officer in his Majeſty's Service; I ſay this, my Lords, without any Intention to reflect upon any Gentleman who has the Honour to ſerve his Majeſty as a Sea Officer; I have a great Eſteem for all, and no Exceptions to any of them: But, my Lords, as our Reputation was beyond all things to be regarded, eſpecially at the Beginning of this War, I think we ought to have employed thoſe who had Rank and Standing in the Fleet, beſides Courage, which every Man is ſuppoſed to have; and this would have, perhaps, given the *Spaniards* to underſtand that we were in Earneſt, as much as any thing, except ſome vigorous Stroke.

But, my Lords, give me leave to ask what has this great Fleet done? What Return has the Nation had for all the immenſe Expences ſhe has been at in fitting it out? Has it done any thing to retrieve your Honour? any thing to revenge your Wrongs? any thing that may anſwer

neceſſary Purpoſes
r was enter'd into?
the Trade of the Nation has ſuffer'd
in those very Seas where this Fleet
lay. The *Spaniards* have indeed been
prevented from ſending out their Ships;
but at the ſame Time they have got a
great many ſafely home, notwithſtanding
the Vigilance of this Fleet of ours. There
has nothing been done, my Lords; and will
any Man ſay that nothing was to be done?
Unexperienc'd as I am in naval Affairs,
I could point out ſeveral things that might
have been done, beſides blocking their
Ships up in the Bay of *Cales*.

And here, my Lords, I muſt beg your
Lordſhips Indulgence a little, if I give the
Houſe my Sentiments with Regard to
that favourite Piece of Service, I mean the
blocking up the *Spaniſh* Fleet in the Bay
of *Cales*. I know I am ſingular in my
Opinion on that Head, and I don't ex-
pect that many Lords will be of my
Way of Thinking in this Particular; but,
my Lords, I think it was a very uſeleſs,
ill-judg'd Piece of Service: It was a Piece
of Service that this Nation had much bet-
ter been without. I am ſorry, my Lords,
that I differ with thoſe who gave the Or-
ders in this Reſpect; but I think it had
been

been much better [illegible] had ſail'd. For, my Lords, if [illegible] we could have follow'd them to [illegible] perhaps overtaken them at open Sea; in any Event we muſt have met with them in their *Weſt-Indies*; and then, my Lords, we could have deſtroy'd or taken them, which would have been a brave and a ſeaſonable Piece of Service to the Nation. Nay, my Lords, if we had had a proper Land-force on board, we could at the ſame time have made other Puſhes, which could not have fail'd of being of vaſt Advantage to this Nation, and putting the Differences betwixt us and *Spain* upon a very ſhort Iſſue.

But, my Lords, to what purpoſe has this Fleet been blocking up the *Spaniſh* Ships all this time in their Harbour? If I am rightly inform'd, or if I am to give any Credit to what is very publickly talk'd, that Service has been ineffectual; for the *Spaniſh* Ships have eſcap'd. So that, my Lords, we have for two Years, at a vaſt Expence, been endeavouring to do what we find turns out to no manner of Account, while there were many Services which that Fleet might have perform'd, that muſt have put an end to the War in our Favour before this time. I know, my Lords,

Port-mahon was [illegible] our Admiral has [illegible] to prevent [illegible] Surprize from that Quarter; but when I reflect upon the long time he has now been at Sea, and the Nature of the Seas where he has been lying, I doubt his Ships have been ſo dreadfully out of order, that he has been obliged to leave his Station. From what I have ſaid, your Lordſhips may ſee that it is evident, the War on that Quarter has been very ill manag'd, and Fortune is not to blame; for we have met with no croſs Accidents, no Loſſes, that have diſabled us from performing Services that might have been ſolid and laſting Advantages to the Nation, beſides ſaving the vaſt Sums that we have been obliged to expend. I ſhall not, my Lords, pretend to point out by whoſe Fault all this has happen'd. I know Admiral *Haddock* to be a very brave worthy Man, and one who I'm ſure wou'd, as far as the Force he had with him cou'd reach, perform any piece of Service for the Honour of his King and Country, that he was ſent out on: In ſhort, my Lords, I know him to be a Man, who, as a Sea-Officer, has every good Quality, except that of great Experience in great Command. For all theſe Reaſons, my Lords, when I reflect

reflect upon the unactive
in ever ſince he ſailed
at the ſame time I
Services which it was in his Power to
perform'd, I cannot in Charity but
that his Inſtructions bound up his Hands.
There is not, my Lords, a common Sailor that won't tell you, if you ask him, that fifty things might have been done to annoy the *Spaniards* upon thoſe very Seas.

Having ſaid this much with regard to Admiral *Haddock*, and what has been done in the *Mediterranean*, I ſhall now take the liberty to make ſome Obſervations upon what a noble D---ke has ſaid in excuſe for our not ſending a ſufficient Number of Troops to the *Weſt-Indies*. His Grace took notice, that when Mr. *Vernon* ſail'd, the Battalions from *Ireland* had been arriv'd but two Days, and therefore that they were in a very bad Condition to be ſhipp'd on Board for ſuch a Voyage. It is very true, my Lords, that it muſt have been impracticable to have ſent theſe Troops on Board at that time. But what I would be inform'd of is, Why thoſe Troops from *Ireland* were not ſooner brought over? Can it be pretended, that it was uncertain we ſhould enter into a War

before that time? My Lords, I appeal to the Papers upon your Lordships Table, to prove, that, even in the Opinion of our M----y, the War was then inevitable. I appeal to what paſs'd in this very Houſe, when ſeveral Lords, who certainly knew a great deal of what was paſſing at that time, declar'd, that all Speaking and Treating was now at an end, and that then was the Time for Acting. But, my Lords, where could the Harm have been, if, upon even the Suſpicion that the Nation was to enter into War, theſe Troops had been brought from *Ireland?* My Lords, the very Letters which *Geraldino* wrote up and down this Kingdom before he went away, don't leave us the leaſt Room to queſtion, but that the Miniſtry, long before that time, knew that a Rupture with *Spain* was unvoidable.

My Lords, I come now to ſpeak a little with regard to the Management of our Affairs at Land, the Element to which my Services have been moſtly confin'd. And here, my Lords, give me leave to ſay, that I muſt give up all Pretenſions to common Senſe, if there have not been many wrong Steps taken in the Affairs of the Army, ſo far as appears to

me, ſince our entering into this W[illegible] am glad of this Opportunity of diſclai[illegible] my having any hand in ſuch a Conduct as I every Day obſerve; if they who give the Orders ſhall reap any Honour from their Management, I ſhall rob them of no ſhare of it, and I wiſh them much Joy in it; but at the ſame time, while that I renounce the Honour, I refuſe to have any Part of the Diſcredit that may ariſe from the preſent Meaſures that are purſued. The noble D--ke who ſpoke in the Debate, ſaid, that he ſhould have look'd upon himſelf as a Traitor to his Prince, if he had adviſed him to any other Meaſures than what have been purſued. My Lords, there the noble D---ke and I widely differ: Had I had the Honour to have adviſed his Majeſty, I ſhould have been clearly of Opinion, that a Body of 6 or 8000 Men had been ſent out with Mr. *Vernon*, and thoſe too of the very beſt Troops we have. It was owing to Mr. *Vernon*'s Courage, my Lords, that he ſucceeded as he did, and he has been nobly rewarded: He has, my Lords, had the very ſame Reward that was beſtow'd upon the late Duke of *Marlborough* upon the Victories of *Hochſted*, *Ramellies*, and *Malplaquet*; and that is, the Addreſſes of both Houſes of

ment, and of the City of *London*, congratulating his Majeſty upon his Succeſſion. So that there cannot, my Lords, be greater Honours done to a Subject, than what has on this Occaſion been done to that brave honeſt Man Mr. *Vernon*; that is the greateſt Character that I can give any Man; and that Character I know he deſerves. But, my Lords, no Officer in the King's Service has for ſome Years paſt made ſo little a Figure in his Way, as this gallant Admiral has done. I cannot ſay what this is owing to; but his preſent Glory makes him ample Amends for all his late Obſcurity. And, my Lords, give me leave here to obſerve, what a vaſt Encouragement it is for all his Majeſty's Officers to do their Duty, when they reflect, that their Succeſs procures them the greateſt Rewards and Honours.

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My Lords, I am far from believing the Gentlemen of the Navy, when they tell us, that their Ships are a ſufficient Guard to our Coaſts, and that we can by means

of them prevent all Invaſions. I ſubmit, my Lords, that the Enemy will have an Opportunity to throw over 10 or 12000 Men here, and that our Ships can't prevent their Landing; but, my Lords, tho we had ſent out 10 Battalions with Mr. *Vernon*, we ſtill had 18000 Men left to guard the Nation; and theſe muſt have been an Over-match for any Number of Men the *French* could have landed here. All the Number, my Lords, which they can throw over to this Country, before our Fleet can come to our Aſſiſtance, are ſo inconſiderable, that their Landing would deſerve the Name of a *Surprize*, rather than of an *Invaſion*.

Let us ſuppoſe the worſt, my Lords, and that we had been invaded with a greater Number, our 18000 Men muſt ſtill have made Head againſt them; and I dare ſay, it could have been no difficult thing for the Government to have rais'd Recruits as many as they could have occaſion for.

But, my Lords, I cannot for my Life conceive what ſhould tempt *France* to invade you; ſhe has at the Head of her Councils a Miniſter who knows how to make Peace, and how to make War, and both equally to the Honour of his Country. If that Miniſter, my Lords, entertains

Prejudice of this
us while he
Situation he could wiſh
We are now paying great Fleets,
great Armies, my Lords; we have been
paying them for ſome Years paſt, and all
to no purpoſe. This plays the Game of
France, if ſhe has a Deſign to break with
you, more effectually than any Invaſion
can do, while the Nation reaps no Ad-
vantage from the vaſt Expence ſhe is at.
My Lords, I am afraid we are now ſuf-
fering more, than if ſhe were actually at
War with us: We, from Year to Year,
keep up uſeleſs Armaments by Sea and
Land, which muſt ruine our Finances;
and Finances, my Lords, are the Blood
and Sinews of War.

The noble D--ke took notice, that our
agreeing to this Reſolution look'd like paſ-
ſing a Cenſure upon what we had already
congratulated his Majeſty for. No, my
Lords, I ſee no reaſon for viewing it in
that Light. It is very poſſible, that this
Houſe may approve of one Step, and diſ-
approve of the reſt, and I believe there are
many Precedents of it. The noble D--ke
likewiſe ſaid, that the infamous Libels
which are daily publiſh'd againſt the Go-
vernment are a proper Conſideration for
this

this Houſe, when we [illegible]
of the Nation. My Lords, I have had occaſion to ſee a good many Papers wrote [illegible] on publick Affairs upon both ſides of the Queſtion. My Opinion of them, my Lords, is, that on one Side they are weak, ſcurrilous, void of Reaſoning, and never can be accus'd of Wit: On the other Side, they are wrote with at leaſt a Shew of Reaſoning and Argument, and with Regard to good Senſe and good Manners. And, my Lords, it is notorious, that in the Papers of the Former, ſome of the greateſt Characters in the Nation have been attack'd and blacken'd: So that an Enquiry of that kind would, I believe, come out no way in favour of thoſe who write for the A-------n.

Upon the whole, my Lords, I don't ſee the leaſt Inconveniency that can attend your Lordſhips agreeing to the Reſolution: To me, it contains nothing but a plain demonſtrable Fact; and all the Arguments I have heard againſt it have rather confirm'd me in favour of it. I ſee no Reaſon why your Lordſhips ſhould be in any pain about agreeing to a thing that can affect but a very few, and may occaſion the future Management of this War

to

and advanta-
on than it has
perſuaded, my Lords,
that if the thing that is cenſured in this
Reſolution had been properly provided a-
gainſt, we ſhould have by this time brought
our Enemies very low, and have either ob-
lig'd thoſe who are neuter to be our very
good Friends, or to declare themſelves in
ſuch a Manner as might put us upon our
Guard, and let us know what we are to
expect. My Lords, I ask your Lordſhips
Pardon for having troubled you thus long,
but I thought the Importance of the Oc-
caſion required it. I ſhall conclude with
declaring, THAT I AM FOR AGREEING
TO THE MOTION.

FINIS.